

Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8271

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 5269

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SF
SUBJECT: 32ND UNGA: ANTI-APARTHIED RESOLUTIONS

REF: (A) USUN 4972; (B) STATE 284730

1. AS VOTING POSITIONS OF NATIONS ON THE ANTI-APARTHEID RESOLUTIONS BEGIN TO JELL, I WANT TO REEMPHASIZE THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OVERALL U.S. INTERESTS OF A "NO" VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION ENTITLED "ASSISTANCE TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA." (A/32/L29). THE FACT THAT SIX OTHER NATIONS ARE PREPARED TO CAST "NO" VOTES DOES NOT, IN MY VIEW, IMPROVE THE CASE FOR OUR DOING SO AS WELL. IT IS THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS INCREASINGLY BEING LOOKED TO BY WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR LEADERSHIP ON AFRICAN QUESTIONS. IT IS THE UNITED STATES WHICH MUST PROVIDE THAT LEADERSHIP IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE PEACEFUL CHANGE WHICH WE HOPE FOR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY TOWARD AFRICA WHICH HAS OCCURRED DURING THIS PAST YEAR HAS BEEN OUR OFFICIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. AS OPPOSED TO THE PAST ADMINISTRATION, WE HAVE STATED THAT WE DO NOT DISPUTE THE RIGHT OF AFRICANS TO PURSUE THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION THROUGH RHETORIC
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WE DO NOT SHARE AND VIOLENT MEANS WE CANNOT SUPPORT. A "NO" VOTE ON THIS RESOLUTION WOULD BE SEEN AS A CONTRADICTION OF THIS POLICY. IN ADDITION, IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE FOCUS OF THIS RESOLUTION, THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO ARMED ELEMENT OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. THE REAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA IS STEVE BIKO AND ROBERT SOBUKWE, NOT THE ARMCHAIR PAC AND ANC REPRESENTATIVES

IN NEW YORK. A "NO" VOTE FROM THE UNITED STATES
WILL BE FAIRLY INTERPRETED BY AFRICANS AS U.S. OPPOSITION TO
THE MODERATE LIBERATION LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH
AFRICA AS WELL AS THE MORE RADICAL.

3. I RECOGNIZE THE LEGAL PROBLEMS PRESENTED, ESPECIALLY
BY OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH FOUR, BUT I FEEL THAT THEY CAN BE
COVERED BY AN ABSTENTION AND A STRONG RESERVATION. I
UNDERSTAND THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION, BUT I FEEL STRONGLY
THAT WHATEVER LEGAL PROTECTION WE
MIGHT GAIN FROM A "NO" VOTE WOULD BE FAR OUTWEIGHED BY
THE RESULTING LOSS IN AFRICAN CONFIDENCE IN THE UNITED
STATES" COMMITMENT TO CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
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